

MEMOIRS

OF

HUMPHREY,

Duke of Gloucester;

(As they relate to the *Story* of Mr. PHILLIPS'S
TRAGEDY of that NAME; and proper
to be Bound up with it.)

IN WHICH

The *several* CHARACTERS, represented in that
D R A M A, are *Fully* and *Faithfully* Drawn.

WITH

An ACCOUNT how far they were *Instrumental*
in the *Ruin* and *Murder* of that Great Good
M A N.



—Causas memora, quo Numine laeso,
Quidve dolet Regina — tot volvere Casus
Insignem Pietate Virum — VIRG.



L O N D O N :

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AD not Mr. PHILLIPS built a Tragedy on the *Story*, or rather the *Downfall*, of this *Great Man*, there could be no Demand or Occasion for these *Memoirs*, no Enquiry after the Character or Actions of a Person, however signaliz'd by both, who has been laid in Dust for very near Three Hundred Years.

As I have a Veneration for *Plays* in general, when they are the Products of an able and ingenious Pen, I think we cannot set too high a Regard in particular upon those, whose *Plot* is founded upon some signal Action in *English History*, or the Misfortunes of some great unhappy Man of our own Growth, whose Virtues are borne down
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by the Treachery of Rival-Statesmen, who hate as much the Splendour of his Name, as they envy that of his Power and Grandeur. We become indebted to the Poet, when he is a worthy Recorder of such Circumstances, as he assists History with the Beauties of his Art, as he revives and raises from the silent Tomb the sleeping Merit of a long-lost Ancestor, and fires our Souls with a generous Emulation, that makes us wish either to have liv'd when so much Virtue flourish'd, or that we were now in the Condition of coming up to a Character that makes such a Figure to Posterity.

The Talents of a *Patriot* are never more conspicuous, than when his Country is embroil'd in Difficulties; when she is torn and harra's'd by the Factions of her own Sons, and languishes under the Weakness of a Prince, who neither knows how to wield the Sceptre as he ought, nor decide the Pretensions of the Ambitious Peers, who all contend to be first in Place and Favour.

In all these Particulars the Great Man, whose Fate is peculiarly the Subject of this Tract, had ample Room to signalize his Character. There was an Infant Prince on the Throne of *England*, when he first started into Greatness: As the King grew up, the Court was divided, from the *Interests*, the *Struglings*, the *Aversions*, and *Ambitions* of its *Courtiers*; and all the Affairs of the Kingdom were manag'd by *Cabals* and *Antipathies*; and the Welfare of the King and Realms was too perniciously blended with, or rather swallow'd up by the designing Views and Attempts of those Great Peers, who work'd their Fortunes out of the Publick Misery.

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But, to come to the Point propos'd ; The Design of these few Sheets is to give such an Account of *Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester*, as may prepare an Audience to see Mr. PHILLIPS's *Tragedy* with a fuller Pleasure and Understanding.

To this End my Readers will soon see, that I have so far consulted their Convenience, as not to confine my self to the *Actions* and *Character* of this *Duke*, but have interwove such *Other Characters*, as far as History furnishes, who have any Concern in the Poet's *Plot*, or had any hand in promoting the *Murder* of the *Duke*, whom he makes the *Hero* and *Favourite* of his Play.

Might I take the Liberties of a Poet, I should begin with the *Catastrophe* of my *Hero*, and make the other Parts of his Story subservient to that : But as History is my Province, I am oblig'd to give a more regular Detail of *Actions*, as they fell out, and inform my Readers *who* *Duke Humphrey* was, before I come to tell them *how* he dy'd.

King HENRY the *Fourth* (the Deposer of the unfortunate King *Richard* the Second) at his Death left behind him four Sons ; the Gallantry of whose *Actions* in no wise derogated from the Dignity of their Birth, but amply proclaim'd them the legitimate Issue of that Heroick Prince. *Humphrey*, the youngest of the Four, upon his Brother *Henry* the Fifth his coming to the Throne, was by him created *Duke of Gloucester*. He was the Second who ever bore the Stile of that Dukedom ; (*Thomas* of *Woodstock*, youngest Son of King *Edward* the Third, having been the first, who wore the Honours of that Title ;) and with

so many Virtues was he adorn'd, that his Conduct render'd him the Delight of the *English* Nation, and procured a never-dying Epithet to be annex'd to his Title ; which was that of, *The Good Duke of Gloucester*.

To give a short Account of him, antecedent to his Promotions in the State : Soon after the Demise of his Father, and the Accession of his Brother *Henry* to the Throne, upon a Quarrel that broke out betwixt the two Nations of *England* and *France*, Duke *Humphrey* attended his Royal Brother thither, to assist him in prosecuting his just Claim to that Crown, deriv'd from the Conquests of King *Henry* their Father. In this Contest of Glory he spent a great Part of his younger Years, and signaliz'd himself in many Actions. For such was his Reputation with his gallant Brother, as well for sedate Conduct as bold and intrepid Courage, that he committed to his Charge and Care the Van-guard of his Army ; and frequently dispatched him with a Third Part of his Forces, to reduce to his Obedience many Places of the last Importance ; and such, whose Overthrow as much requir'd the Conduct of an ancient and experienc'd Officer, as the Fire and Boldness of a youthful one.

Nor did his Success in these his warlike Undertakings fail of answering the Expectations which were rais'd on his Expeditions ; Fortune waited on him whithersoever he went ; and whether he fought at the Head of his Army, or singly engaged some of the Enemy, still was he crowned with Victory ; whereby he became vastly instrumental in setting the Crown of *that* Kingdom on his Brother's Head.

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These gallant Acts, and the repeated Instances of his admirable Endowments, render'd him so dear to his Royal Brother, that upon his Death-Bed he committed the Guardian-ship of the *Prince* (afterwards King *Henry the Sixth*,) his Son, an Infant then about Nine Months old, and the Defence and Government of the Realm of *England*, during his Minority, to Duke *Humphrey's* prudent Care and Management, resting confident, that as abroad in War, he had approv'd himself a Person equally qualify'd to project and execute; so, at Home, no Capacity, Diligence, or Fidelity would be wanting to support the Dignity and Grandeur of the Crown, and promote the Interests and Well-being of the People.

By this Deputation of Regal Authority, the Duke was in Effect a King, and wanted nothing but the Title, the Power being as extensive as if he had held the Crown in right of himself. Nor indeed, did the Style of his Grandeur run much inferior to that of an actual King; as is plain, if we will appeal to an Instrument made in the First Year of King *Henry the Sixth*, (which the learned CAMDEN tells us, he himself saw,) wherein he is written, HUMPHREY, by the Grace of God, Son, Brother, and Uncle to Kings, Duke of Gloucester, Earl of Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Pembroke, Lord of Friesland, Great Chamberlain of England, Protector and Defender of the same Kingdom and Church.

If such an Access of Power and Dignity had elated him too much, and made him fond of executing that Authority, which was a new and un-

us no Occasion of Wonder ; considering that at most he could not be above 30 Years of Age : But he had imbib'd better Principles in his early Days, which taught him that the Life of a Supreme Commander should be spent in doing Actions of Benificence to Those under him ; and that as Princes sprung not from themselves, so neither were they made for themselves, but for the Good and Profit of the Publick.

In pursuance thereof to these Sentiments, he no sooner took upon him the arduous and dangerous Charge of *Protector*, but he summon'd to his Assistance wise and grave Counsellors, by whose mature and sage Advice, he provided and ordained such Things as he thought most for the publick Advantage. And, when he had to his Mind settled all Affairs concerning the well Governing of *England*, he proceeded to order all Things necessary and convenient for prosecuting the War in *France*, and bringing that Kingdom entirely in Subjection to the *English* Monarch.

Here, would I submit to be a *partial* Relater of this Great Man's Actions, I should draw a Veil, and endeavour to bury in Oblivion an Action, fatal in its Consequences to *England*, as well as a Stain to the Memory of this renowned Prince. Whether the fatal Charms of Beauty, (Charms, too often, above the Power of the most severe Reason, and Religion to withstand !) or what other Motive, push'd him on, remains uncertain : But from hence this Observation is consigned to Us, That neither the greatest Virtue, nor the most discerning Judgment, nor the most absolute Conquest Man ever gain'd over himself, ought to give us the least Umbrage of presuming too far on
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our own Strength, since the Greatest of Men have frequently fallen, where they would least have been suspected to be guilty.

And thus it befell our Duke. Charm'd with the Person of the Dutchess of *Hainault*, he procures her being brought to *England*, where he marries her, notwithstanding her first Husband, the Duke of *Brabant*, was then living; and the Suit of Divorce, commenced by the said Dutchess against him, was yet depending undetermin'd.

This Action, as it cost the Duke much Money, so was it the Loss of many Friends, and might have been the Occasion of the Loss of the Crown of *France*. For the Duke of *Burgundy*, who had, during the *Gallic War*, been entirely attach'd to the *English* Interest, being enraged at the Duke of *Gloucester's* marrying with the Dutchess of *Hainault*, his Cousin, join'd his Interest with the Duke of *Brabant's*, and upon the Duke of *Gloucester's* raising an Army, and coming over into *Holland*, to take Possession of That, and other adjacent Countries, in Right of his suppos'd Wife; He, by his Succours, put *Brabant* in a Condition to withstand him; upon which, the Duke of *Gloucester* accused him of Treason, in aiding and abetting the Enemies of *England*, and therefore challenged him to single Combat.

The Challenge *Burgundy* readily accepted of, yet denied that he was guilty of any Breach of Faith; but, on the contrary, That *Gloucester* had broke thro' all the Ties of Religion and common Honesty, in depriving another Man of his Wife. Upon this a Day was fix'd for the Combat, and both the Camps, which were upon the Point of
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an Engagement, broke up. The Duke of Gloucester took Leave of his Lady at *Mons* till his Return to engage with the Duke of *Burgundy*; and in four Days embark'd with all his Men for *England*, in order to provide himself with Necessaries for the Combat. But by the Assiduity of the Duke of *Bedford*, his Elder Brother, all Matters were accommodated between the contending Parties:

In the mean Time Pope *Martin* declared in Favour of the first Marriage of the Dutchess with the Duke of *Brabant*, and reprobated That with the Duke of *Gloucester*: So, all Possibility of enjoying her with the least Appearance of Honour being entirely extinct, the Duke of *Gloucester* immediately married the Daughter of the Lord *Cobham* of *Sterborough*; whereby he made Atonement to her for the unlawful Familiarity which had formerly passed between them.

If this Great Man committed a rank Injustice in arbitrarily taking to his Bed the Wife of another, he was severely punish'd for it in this Second Match, as well as reflected on for espousing a Lady, who, too many Tongues proclaim'd, had before submitted to the Dishonour of his wanton Embraces. She might be Mistress of extraordinary Beauties, but they were sullied with Crimes as extraordinary. And, as in those Times the Notions of *Witchcraft*, *Incantations*, and Tricks of *Sorcery*, were more allowed, than they at this day are; her Enemies would have it, That the Practice of *Art Magick* was one of her Talents; and that She had by *Potions*, and other unjustifiable Attempts, wrought upon the Duke of *Gloucester's* Affections. But we shall have Occasion to say

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say more of this hereafter, when such Imputations were turn'd upon her, to give a Countenance to her own and Lord's Destruction.

The great Power and Dignity, which, as we have already taken Notice, was vested in the Duke of *Gloucester*, as it made him Superior to all other Subjects, so it created him many Enemies; who repining at the Universal Respect and Veneration, which he had acquired by the prudent and faithful Discharge of the high Trust reposed in him, sought by all Means to render him uneasy in his Person, and to prevent his Councils from taking place.

To head this Faction, none so proper as *Henry Bishop of Winchester*, who, as well from his high Birth and the great Sway which he bore in the Government of the Kingdom, as from his personal Qualifications, could only stand in Competition with the Duke of *Gloucester*.

This *Henry*, surnamed *Beaufort* (from a Castle of that Name in *France* belonging to his Father,) Bishop of *Winchester*, and Cardinal of *St. Eusebie*, was the youngest Son of *John of Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*, by his third Wife; born, indeed, before Marriage, but legitimated by Parliament in the 20th Year of *Richard the II*d. He was a Man, from the general Concurrence of History, of a bold and haughty Carriage, ambitious of Rule and Sovereignty, insatiable in his amassing of Wealth, but parsimonious in bestowing it on Those who had well deserv'd of him; ever affecting Popularity, but not taking competent Measures to ingratiate himself into the Affections of the People; for he was of a Nature proud, turbulent and im-

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perious;

perious; to his Relations always cold and disdainful, and even to his Friends scarce shewing an affable Deportment. So immense was his Treasure, that few had Money at command besides himself, when he gain'd the Title of the *rich*, but never of the *good*, or *beneficent* CARDINAL. This Thirst for Wealth engag'd his Dependance thereon so entirely, and possessed him so strongly in the Love of it, that he judged as well Life and Honour, as all other Felicities to be its Consequents. Of this we have a convincing and remarkable Instance at his latest Hour; for we are assured, upon his Death-Bed he broke out into these absurd Exclamations. *Why should I dye, that have so much Wealth! If the whole Kingdom would save my Life, I am able by my Policy to get it. or by my Money to buy it. Will not Death be brib'd, nor Money do Nothing!* By these Sentiments he shew'd at once his Unwillingness and Want of Preparation (tho' in an advanced Age) to submit to what Providence had determin'd *must be*.

Such Qualifications meeting in a Person of his Authority and Dignity, for to him (with his Brother the Duke of *Exeter*), was committed by his Nephew King *Henry* the Vth the Care and Tuition of the Royal Infant King *Henry* the VIth, poin'd him out as the only Person proper to oppose and contradict the good Intentions of the Duke of *Gloucester*, who, being careful of the Welfare of the King and State, prosecuted only such Measures as would render both Happy and Glorious; while the Bishop, having other Interests in View, made it his Endeavour to render the good Counsels of the Protector vain and ineffectual.

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From this invidious Opposition of the Cardinal, the *English* Nation began soon to discover the unhappy Effects of an Infant's sitting on the Throne; and what a Train of Calamities may follow from the dangerous Emulation of two principal Men in Power. Whether it was that the Duke of *Gloucester* took Umbrage at the Riches and pompous Living of the Prelate; or, that the Bishop, like *Pompey*, impatient of an Equal, envy'd and traduc'd the great Authority and Character of the Duke: Certain it is, That a deadly Enmity was contracted between them, which, in the End, prov'd the Source and Occasion of the Duke's Ruin and Disgrace; for whilst the latter urg'd many and heavy Accusations against the Cardinal, and He as strenuously defended himself, the Quarrel became publick, and the Court, the City, and the whole Kingdom were embroil'd by this unhappy Contention.

The Nobility and others, according to their different Ties and Affections, sided with the contending Parties; and to such a Height was the Quarrel inflam'd, that the Protector sent for the Lord *Mayor*, charging him to see the City of *London* well watch'd and guarded: After which, some of the Bishop's Faction would have enter'd the City by the Bridge but were kept out by Force, according to Command; upon which, being enraged, they gather'd a great Number of Archers and Men of Arms, and assaulted the City Gates.

Things push'd to this Vehemence, put the Citizens into so much Surprize and Terror, that they shut up their Shops, and ran about in the

utmost Confusion, expecting every Minute when the City would be made a Scene of Blood and Desolation : But at length, by the Mediation of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Prince of *Portugal*, who rode Eight Times that day between the contending Parties, and by the prudent Management of the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, the whole Matter was compromised, and referr'd to the Arrival of the Duke of *Bedford*, then in *France*, to whose Decision this Quarrel was left.

This Duke of *Bedford* was the Third Son of King *Henry* the Fourth, and upon the Demise of his Brother King *Henry* the Fifth, had the Government of *France* committed to him, during the Minority of his Brother King *Henry* the Sixth.

How powerful this Prince was, appears in some Measure from his Titles, which were Regent of *France*, Duke of *Bedford*, *Alanson*, and *Anjou*. Earl of *Maine*, *Richmond*, and *Kendale*, and High-Constable of *England*. But what exceeded his Titulary Greatness, was, his being one of the greatest Patriots and Generals that ever sprung out of the Royal Stem of the *Plantagenets*.

The Reputation of Great Men too often grows from the Zeal of their Dependants, and Services either expected, or actually conferr'd : But when their Fame rises from the Acknowledgment of those, to whom Fortune, and different Interests have made them Enemies, that Praise can neither be judged partial or extravagant. Allowing this Truth, Posterity is oblig'd to revere the Character of the Duke of *Bedford* ; for his Valour was not more formidable to the Enemy, than his Memory was honourable.

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We could not wish a more authentick Confirmation of this, than the Conduct of the *French* King, after this valiant Duke was dead and pompously intomb'd at *Roan*. Certain envious Persons, that suspected the *French* Glory would be eclips'd to Futurity, by the stately Monument rais'd over the Ashes of this Great Man, urg'd *Lewis* the XIth. then King of *France*, to demolish the Structure. But this generous Monarch, disdaining the Meanness of such a Proposition, returned this noble Answer to those that press'd it. *What Honour can it be to Us, or You, to deface this Monument, or to disturb the Bones of him, who, when living, neither my Father, nor your Progenitors, with all their Power were once able to repell? Who by his Strength, Policy, and Conduct, kept them all out of the principal Dominions of France, and out of this noble Dukedom of Normandy? Wherefore, I say first, God save his Soul, and let his Body now lye at Rest; who, when he was alive, would have terrified the proudest of Us all: And as for his Tomb, I think it not so worthy, or convenient, as his Honour and Acts deserved.* Such an Encomium from the Mouth of a King, a great Part of whose Dominions he had subdued, is above all Trophies and Triumphs, and more to his Honour than the Rhetorical Flourishes of a thousand applauding Orators.

The Decision of the Differences betwixt the Duke of *Gloucester* and the Bishop of *Winchester*, we have already said, waited on the Arrival of *Bedford* in *England*. These Differences were debated first at *St. Albans*, then at *Northampton*, and lastly, in a Parliament held at *Leicester*. The Duke of *Bedford* himself, to avoid all Marks of Partiality to his Brother of *Gloucester*, here would
not

not intermeddle otherwise than in general Words to incourage Amity ; but had the whole Cause referr'd to the most considerable Men in the Nation, both for Birth and Wisdom. By such Interposition and prudent Endeavours the Bickerings and Animosities, Grievances and Accusations, betwixt the Protector and Bishop were agreed to be buried in Oblivion ; and without any Mention of Compensations on either Side, the Duke of *Gloucester* swore by his *Princehood*, and the Bishop by his *Priesthood*, truly to observe the Award, and were for that Time fully reconciled.

But when Reconciliations are merely political, and rotten at the Foundation, when each in his Heart persists to think that he has been injur'd by the other, and consequently view each other with Jealousy and Suspicion, Occasions are never wanting to rip up the cemented Differences. For some Years, however, the Flames of Dissention were smother'd and kept under betwixt them. *Gloucester*, in every Step of his Conduct, continued inviolably to have the Interest of the King and Kingdom at Heart ; and took Care to have many of his Resolutions registred, that they might remain on Record for a Testimony of the Discharge of his Duty. The Bishop on the other Hand, had all his Thoughts turn'd to Views of Interest and Ambition ; and the Rancour of his Heart directed him in all his Counsels to oppose and disappoint those of the Protector. : But, which most exasperated the Duke, this assuming Prelate, with the Aid of the Cardinal-Archbishop of *York*, acted many Things without the Consent of the King or Him.

The Duke of *Gloucester*, whose Patience could not weather the repeated Instances of *Winchester*, in Writing declared to the King, How much both these Prelates had offended his Majesty and the Laws of the Land. This Complaint of the Duke's was drawn up in twenty four long Articles, which chiefly imported, That the Bishop of *Winchester* had continually, through his ambitious Desire of surmounting all others in Honour and Dignity, sought to enrich himself, to the great Damage of the King, as not only defrauding him of his Treasure, but also practising Things highly prejudicial to his Affairs in *France*, &c. But though these Complaints were heard and examined before the Council, the Bishop of *Winchester* found so many Friends, as not only protected him from Censure, but likewise afterwards found Means to effect the Duke of *Gloucester's* Ruin.

But little Time interven'd before an Affair took Place, that opened a Way for all the Malice of *Winchester*, and his Faction. A Rupture happening between the Two Kingdoms of *England* and *France*, many Princes of *Christendom* became Mediators, and sent their Ambassadors on all Sides to facilitate a Peace. During these Negotiations *William de la Pole*, Earl of *Suffolk*, a great Favourite at the *English* Court, went one of the Commissioners for this Peace.

While he was abroad in this Service, he took upon him a bold Thing beyond his Commission; and without acquainting his Associates, treated of a Marriage between the King of *England*, and *Margaret* the Daughter of *Reyner* Duke of
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of *Anjou*, and Niece to the Queen of *France*. The Earl of *Suffolk* was so active and assiduous in this Affair, That it brought the suspicion of Bribery upon him: And upon his Return to his King, he so magnified the Beauty and Qualifications of the proposed Bride, and the Benefits of Peace that would redound to the Kingdom by this Match, that the Youthful *Henry* was inflam'd with Desire of the Lady, and no less pleased with the Thoughts of having his Kingdom in Quiet.

But our worthy Duke of *Gloucester* bravely opposed this Match, which he knew well could neither be any Honour to his Prince, nor Advantage to the Kingdoms. But all Reasons were of no Effect, when the Heavens had decreed, That for this Cause the Duke should lose his Life, the King his Crown and Dignity, the Kingdom all its Foreign Possessions, and the People that Peace at Home, which they had hitherto enjoy'd.

The more to honour this unfortunate Match, King *Henry* created Three Dukes and One Marquess, which Latter was the Earl of *Suffolk*, who for his further Honour was made the Deputy to celebrate the Formality of the Nuptials, and to bring the Bride into *England*. But every Thing fell out as the Duke of *Gloucester* presag'd; for the Lady's Father, tho' rich in Titles of Imaginary Kingdoms, (for he stiled himself King of *Naples*, *Sicily* and *Jerusalem*) was not able to send her honourably to her Husband; so that all the Charge, which was vast and extraordinary, fell to King *Henry's* Share. She was soon after brought over to *England* in great Pomp, where she was received with all the Joy and

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and Triumph, with which we are used to welcome Foreigners.

If we look into the Figure, this beautiful, but ominous Queen, makes in our *English* History, we shall find that *Polydore Virgil* has given no improper Character of her ; that she was one sufficiently provident, ambitious of Glory, abounding in Discourse, Counsel, Officiousness, and masculine Courage, in which appeared much Ingenuity, Vigilance, and Care ; but not free from the Humour of Women, which, as he says, is usually vehement and apt to change.

Our *English* Writers have been free to tell us, That it appeared that Heaven did not seem pleased with this Marriage ; for from that Day forward, the Fortune of the World began to fall from the King, so that he lost all his Friends in *England*, and all his Dominions in *France*. For in a little time all was governed by the Queen and her Council, to the great Detriment of the King and his Realm ; and the no less Obloquy of the Queen, who thereby became exposed to many bad Reports.

The Renowned Protector, the Duke of *Gloucester*, felt the first fatal Blow of the Evil Angel that was sent to punish *England*, and to root out her Nobility. This Duke, as has been above hinted, had been a brave Opposer of the King's Marriage, and was much hated by the Queen and her Faction, as the only Man who by his Prudence, and also by the Honour and Authority of his Birth and Place, seem'd to hinder that Sovereign Power which they pretended to settle in the King's Person, but designed
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indeed, as is usual under weak and soft Princes, to reign themselves, in another's Name.

As the Nation in a few Years became sensible of the Disadvantages that were drawn upon the Kingdom from this unhappy Match, and Discontentments grew rife amongst the Subject, the Parliament thought it high time to look into the Transaction, and appease the Populace, by turning the Storm on the Head of *Suffolk*, who had been the Agent and Promoter of the Affair, that brought such a Train of Mischiefs along with it.

To this End the Commons drew up many Articles of Impeachment against him, wherein he was charg'd, among other Crimes of Treason and Misdemeanours, with making the Marriage for the King ; in Reply to which Particular, he alledg'd, That the very next Parliament after the Consummation of the Match, had so well approv'd of it, as to vote him Rewards for his Service. But notwithstanding this Defence had a Colour of Plausibility, the Queen justly suspecting some Commotion would ensue, if he passed with Impunity, caused him for a Colour to be committed to the *Tower*, where remaining about a Month, he was again delivered and restored to the King's Favour.

Upon this the Populace again became uneasy, and the House of Commons reviv'd their Resentments ; so that the King was oblig'd to consent to banish *Suffolk* for five Years, as being the present Annoyance of the Nation. But he was at length pursued by a more inevitable Vengeance from above ; for embarking to go for *France*, he was set upon by a Man of War belonging to the
Earl

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Earl of *Exeter*, taken by the Captain and brought into *Dover Road*, where his Head was struck off in a Cock-boat, and his Body ignominiously thrown upon the Shore.

This was the remarkable End of *William de la Pole*, Duke of *Suffolk*, for to that Title he was afterwards promoted; a Person of very considerable Abilities, who had warr'd in *France* Forty Four Years without Intermission, in Seventeen of which he never saw his own Country. When he was taken Prisoner, his Ransom cost him Twenty Thousand Pounds, tho' then he was only a Knight: He was of Thirty Years standing of the Order of the Garter, his Father was slain at the Siege of *Harfleur*, his eldest Brother at *Agencourt*, and his two younger in the same Wars: So, that it cannot be denied, but that his Prince and Country did owe much to him, as he spent his Life in the Service of the One, and his Reputation in the Service of the Other. But, after all, suffering himself to be guided by a prodigious Ambition, he fell into two dreadful Errors; his making of a State-marriage, so pernicious in its Consequences, and his contributing towards the worthy Duke of *Gloucester's* Death; for which last, he seems to have met with such a Punishment, as look'd more like the Hand of Heaven, than the Hatred of the People.

I should here end with what I had to say of this designing Favourite, but that our Poet SHAKESPEARE (in the *Second Part* of his *King Henry the Sixth*) has intimated a Familiarity betwixt the Duke of *Suffolk* and Queen *Margaret*, for which at present at least, I can find no Colour or Authority in the *Chronicles*. As

Suffolk made the Match, and had the Conduct of this Princess over to King *Henry*; the Poet, perhaps, to embellish his Fable, has taken this Liberty with her Character, as willing to throw an Odium on her for intailing so many Miseries on his Country. I cannot enter into a Justification of that Poet's Morals if this Intimacy be a Scandal of his own Invention uncountenanc'd by History or Tradition. *Holinshead*, indeed, seems to intimate, That the Queen intirely lov'd the Duke, but makes no Reflections as if she indulged him in Liberties that could affect her Honour. It cannot be said in Apology of him, That the Queen respected and shew'd a Friendship for *Suffolk* in Gratitude of his having help'd her to a Crown; for by quoting a part of One of his Scenes, the Language will convince Us that the Poet design'd to describe a criminal Correspondence betwixt these Lovers. When the King upon a Tumult of the People, and at the Instigation of the Commons, pronounces Sentence of immediate Banishment against the Duke, the Queen staying behind upon the Stage, to take her Leave of him, amongst other Strokes of Tendernefs, addresses him in the following Strains.

QUEEN, ——— Give me thy Hand,
 That I may dew it with my mournful Tears;
 Nor let the Rain of Heaven wet this Place,
 To wash away my woeful Monuments!
 Oh! could this Kiss be printed in thy Hand,
 That thou might'st think upon these by the Seal,
 Thro' whom a thousand Sighs are breath'd for Thee.
 So: Get thee gone, that I may know my Grief;
 'Tis but surmis'd, whilst Thou art standing by,
 As One that surfeits, thinking on a Want:

I will

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*I will repeat Thee, or be well assur'd,
Adventure to be banished my self :
And banished I am, if but from Thee.
Go, speak not to Me ; Even now be gone,
O ! go not yet. --- Ev'n thus, Two Friends condemn'd,
Embrace, and kiss, and take ten thousand Leaves ;
Loather a hundred Times to part, than dye :
Yet now farewell, and farewell Life with thee !*

To which Suffolk is made as tenderly to Answer ;

*Suff. Thus is poor Suffolk Ten Times banished ;
Once by the King, and three times thrice by Thee.
'Tis not the Land I care for, wert Thou hence,
A Wilderness is populous enough,
So Suffolk had thy heav'nly Company.
For where Thou art, there is the World it self,
VVith ev'ry sev'ral Pleasure in the VWorld :
And where Thou art not, Desolation.
I can no more ; live Thou, to joy thy Life ;
My self no Joy in Aught, but that Thou liv'st !*

But it is Time now to resume the Thread of our History, and go back to trace the Steps by which the Death of the Duke of Gloucester was brought about, from the secret Wiles and Malice of those, that wish'd to supplant him in his Grandeur.

The Faction, which had long labour'd the Disquiet as well as Disreputation of the Duke, had a favourable Opportunity given 'em of laying a Foundation for the Ruin and Disgrace of their chief Enemy ; which they began by a sidelong Attack upon his Wife.

Roger

Roger Bolingbroke, a great Astronomer, with *Thomas Southwell*, a Canon of *St. Stephen's Chappel*, being apprehended as Conspirators against the Life of the King : The Charge exhibited against them, was, For that the said *Roger* had labour'd to consume the King's Person, by the Power of his Necromantic Art ; and that *Southwell* had said Masses over some peculiar Instruments by which the Astronomer practis'd this Art. The News of this their Apprehension coming to the Ear of the Dutcheß of *Gloucester*, he fled for Sanctuary to *Westminster*. Upon this being suspected to be a Complotter in the Traiterous Design, charg'd upon the said Canon and Astronomer, she was cited to appear before the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Cardinals of *York* and *Winchester*, and the Bishop of *Salisbury* ; there to answer to an Accusation of Treason, Heresy and Witchcraft, in having prevail'd upon the said Persons to devise an Image of Wax, representing the King's Person, which by the Power of their Art should consume by Degrees ; intending thereby that the King himself should waste in like manner, and so procure his Death, to the Intent that she might by such Means advance her Husband to the Imperial Dignity of these Realms.

In Obedience to this Citation, the Dutcheß appear'd at *St. Stephen's Chappel* before these haughty Prelates ; and the Charge exhibited against her was endeavour'd to be supported by the Confession of the said *Roger Bolingbroke*, who declar'd, That he made the said Image at the Request of the Dutcheß, who came to enquire at his Hands, What Fortune should attend her in the remaining part of her Life. Upon this she was committed to safe Custody in *Leeds Castle* for some time.

Upon

Upon this a Commission was issued to the Earls of *Suffolk*, *Huntington*, and others, whereby they were directed to enquire into all manner of Treasons, Sorceries, and other Things that might be prejudicial to the King's Person: Before whom the said Dutcheß, and the others, judg'd her Accomplices, were conven'd, and the Articles exhibited against her Grace being read, some she confess'd, and some deny'd; but Witnesses being produc'd to support the said Articles, she was found guilty: And being ask'd, if she had any thing to offer in Bar of Sentence, she answered, No; but that she submitted herself to their Determination.

Whatever the Witnesses produc'd against her depos'd, it does not appear that they were convincing enough to fix the Crime of Treason upon her, which occasioned a milder Sentence to be pass'd upon her, than what her Adversaries expected. But *Bolingbroke* and *Southwell* were condemned to Death, which Sentence was accordingly put in Execution against *Bolingbroke*, but *Southwell* dy'd in the Tower the Night before; agreeable to what himself had prophesy'd, *That he should never dye by the Justice of the Law.*

In Prosecution of the Sentence pass'd on the Dutcheß, she was put to solemn and publick Pennance, in *London*, upon three several Days, with extraordinary shame to her Person; and after committed to perpetual Imprisonment, under the Care of Sir *Thomas Stanley*. The first Day of her doing publick Pennance, she was convey'd by Water from *Westminster*, and landed at the Temple, from whence, with a Taper of Wax in her

her Hand, she proceeded to *St. Paul's*, where at the high Altar, she offer'd up her Taper : The second Day she landed at the *Swan* in *Thames* Street, and proceeded through *Grace-Church* Street, & *Leaden-Hall*, to *Christ's Church*, near *Aldgate* ; the third Day she landed at *Queen-Hithe*, and march'd in the same Form, as before, to *St. Michael's* in *Cornhill* ; being each Day attended by the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Livery-Men of the City.

Whether she was really guilty of the Treasonable Practice laid to her Charge, or that she only made use of the said *Bolingbroke*, and others, to practise their Art in resolving the Accidents of her future Life, (a Weakness too many, especially of the Fair-Sex, are frequently guilty of,) as yet remains in doubt : But if, with *Fox*, we may offer at a probable Opinion, she will stand acquitted in the Records of Fame from any other Crime than the Folly of being too curious in the Knowledge of Futurity ; and that for the subsequent Reasons.

Bolingbroke, at the Place of Execution declar'd, That he was entirely innocent of any Practice against the Life of the King, for which he stood condemned ; but that, indeed, he had made use of his Art farther than what might be warranted by a good Conscience ; in which Declaration he absolutely freed the Dutches from the Aspersions cast upon her. Nor is it probable, that the beloved Consort of that Great Man, whom the *Winchester* Faction so much dreaded, would have escap'd with Life, could any such Fact have been prov'd upon her. But there are other Reasons assign'd for this her Disgrace, and that upon more probable Grounds than those for which she suffer'd ;

fer'd : She was said to be a Favourer of *VVickliffe* ; and how formidable an Enemy that Reformer was to the Clergy, is too well known to need a Repetition here ; nor was there any Means so probable to open a Way for the Ruin of the Duke, and his Interest, and advance the Cardinal of *VVinchester* and his Adherents in their ambitious Designs ; and this Opinion seems yet more plausible, upon reflecting that this Accusation against the Dutcheſs took its Birth immediately after the second Quarrel between the Duke, and the Cardinal, when his Grace presented the twenty four Articles to the King against that Prelate, and his Adherents, as is before related.

The Queen, whose politick Designs I have already taken Notice of, cherish'd every Counsel and Project of the Faction, that opposed themselves to the Interest of *Gloucester*, and lent an Hand to forward his Destruction. He had render'd himself odious unto her, as has been above remarked, by strenuously opposing her Marriage with the King ; as a Match as well contrary to his Honour, who was under the Engagement of a Præ-Contract, as the Interest and Safety of the Weal Public ; besides, the Queen repining to see his Majesty rule not of himself, and by Virtue of his own Royal Authority ; but that all Things were transacted in pursuance of the Schemes and Resolutions taken by the Duke of *Gloucester* ; she determin'd with herself to take upon her the Rule and Government of the King and Kingdom, and abridge the Duke of his Interest and Authority with the King as much as possible, taking it as a Reflection upon herself, that her Husband should continue to act as under Papillage, now he was arriv'd to the Perfection of Man's Estate.

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This Observation of hers, tho' it took its Rise principally, if not solely, from her self, was yet encreas'd and settled in her by the concurrent Opinions of those who bore the greatest Sway in Council ; by whom she was perswaded to make Enquiry into the Management and Conduct of the Duke of *Gloucester*, who, it was suggested, had not so much sought the general Welfare of the Kingdom, as the Advancement of his own private Interest and Estate. In this she was more thoroughly confirm'd by the Instances of her Father, who wrote to her not to suffer herself and Husband to be influenc'd by the Opinions of others, but that they should themselves take on them the Rule and Government of the Kingdom, and not be kept in Subjection like Wards and desolate Orphans. Being easily perswaded by these Motives, which were indeed consonant to her own Sentiments, she, with her Husband, assum'd that Imperial Authority they were so press'd to exert : But tho' in the Execution of this Power she joyn'd her Husband with her, yet was it only nominal ; for she herself, in Conjunction with her Creatures, took such Steps as she thought most proper to compass her ambitious Designs.

The Extreme Lenity of the King assisted vastly in the Consummation of her Projects ; for he, being a Man of a meek and easy Temper, preferred Peace, and the Comforts of religious Contemplations to the Pomp and Grandeur of a Court ; whose weighty Cares were quite opposite to that honest, easy Quietness, and forgiving Temper, which shin'd with so great *Eclat* in this Royal Pattern of Tenderness and Humanity.

The first Step the *Queen* took in this Affair, was to exclude the Duke of *Gloucester* from all manner of Rule and Government ; and at the same Time gave all Countenance and Encouragement to his
Enemies

Enemies to invent and contrive Causes of Complaint against him. Whether she and her Dependants were really Apprehensive of any Attempt of the Duke's, in Revenge of the Indignity put upon his Wife, whom he tenderly lov'd ; or, that the Cardinal, still prosecuting his Grudge against the Duke, as being the greatest Bar to his Ambition, is uncertain ; but this Great Man must fall, and to give it the greater shew of Justice, several Articles of Impeachment of High Treason were drawn up against him, contriv'd, as 'tis believ'd, by the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Marquess of *Suffolk*, and the Cardinal of *Winchester* : Among which Articles, 'twas declared, That the Duke endeavour'd to release *Eleanor*, his Dutchess, from Prison, who had for her treasonable Practices been sentenc'd to continue there for Life ; that he had caus'd Persons, condemn'd to Death, to suffer the Execution of a more cruel and severe Nature than the Law of the Land gave Countenance, or Authority to ; and that he had gather'd a great Power to his Aid, with Intent to compels the Destruction of the King, his Royal Master.

To these Articles the *Duke* gave sufficient Answer, to acquit himself from the malicious Imputations, and clear that Reputation which his Enemies endeavour'd to blacken with such weighty Crimes ; yet because his Death was fully resolv'd on, his Wisdom was of small Advantage, and his Truth but little avail'd towards his Safety. Strong in the Knowledge of his own Innocence, he thought himself, indeed, secure ; but such Confidence favour'd the Designs of his Enemies, and facilitated that Ruin, which his prudent Caution might otherwise have prevented.

The Universal Love, gain'd by a Series of Gracious and Noble Acts, during a Protector-

ship of Twenty five Years, had render'd the Life of the Duke most precious to the People ; which his Enemies being conscious of, did not dare openly to attempt his Life at first, lest it should Occasion a Tumult and Insurrection in the Nation ; they therefore, by Craft and Stratagem, endeavour'd to undermine him, e'er he himself should suspect their Designs. To the Populace, therefore, Insinuations are made of the King's Danger ; and a Parliament being summon'd at *St. Edmund's-Bury*, in *Suffolk*, where the King then resided, the Passages and Avenues to the said Town were strictly Guarded both Day and Night, for fear, as was given out, of some Attempt of the Duke's. His Grace was then at *Castle-Vies* in *Wiltshire*, from whence he came to pay his Attendance, according to Summons, in this Parliament, and was lodg'd in the Hospital in the said Town of *Bury*. On the 2d Day of the Session, the Lord *Beaumont*, then High-Constable of *England*, accompany'd with his Grace the Duke of *Buckingham* and others, arrested him for High-Treason ; and committed the Care of him to a select Guard of the King's Household : All his Servants were sequester'd from him, and Thirty of the Chief of his Retinue, were sent to divers Prisons, there to be kept in safe Custody, 'till a convenient Time should present it self for their being brought to their Tryals ; and the Day after his Imprisonment he was found dead in his Bed. Yet his Body was expos'd to publick View, the same Day, with Intent that it should be thought that he died of the Palsie, or an Imposthume, or some other sudain Disease ; or rather, as his Enemies gave out, with Grief ; as being too conscious of his Guilt to bear the being brought to a strict Account ;
but

Humphrey, *Duke of Gloucester, &c.* 29

but all, who saw his Body, plainly discern'd that he died a Violent and Unnatural Death. Some were of Opinion he was strangl'd, others that a red hot Spit had been thrust up into his Body, or that he was smother'd between two Feather Beds. His Corps was convey'd to *St. Alban's*, and there honourably interr'd, with suitable Funeral Pomp.

Such was the End of this great Prince, who, notwithstanding his Body was expos'd to publick View, and many pretended Crimes alledg'd against him, was by the People of *England* generally thought to be doubly Murther'd, in his Reputation, as well as his Person.

After him the Title of *Gloucester* was reputed ominous ; for the Four last *Gloucesters* came to violent Ends. *Thomas*, Son to *Edward* the III^d. was strangl'd at *Calais* ; *Thomas Spencer*, Earl of *Gloucester*, beheaded at *Bury* ; *Humphry*, the late Duke, died, as above related ; and *Richard* Duke of *Gloucester*, after call'd *Richard* III^d. was slain in *Bosworth-Field*.

The Death of this Duke prov'd the *Queen*, who was especially concern'd in it, not to have been so careful or politick as common Reason seem'd to require her : For while he liv'd, his Interest and Authority would easily have stifled the Duke of *York's* Claim ; (whom, by a fatal Mistake, the King not only restor'd to his Blood, tainted by his Father, but from Earl of *Cambridge* advanc'd him to the Dukedom of *York*.) And while she purpos'd to preserve her Husband in Honour, and her self in Authority, by the Death of this Noble Man, she really brought on her those Miseries she sought to avoid ; and robb'd herself of that Jewel, she seem'd most highly to prize and value. For the Duke of *York*, a Man of a
bold

bold and daring Resolution, prompted to satisfy his Ambition, tho' at the Expence of his Breath, of those Oaths and Obligations he had laid himself under to King *Henry*, took hold on this Opportunity of advancing his Claim to the Crown; when all Things were in Disorder, and good Men, apprehensive of their own Safeties, voluntarily left their Places at Court, to be fill'd by Persons, who for the most part preferr'd their own private Interest, to the general Advantage of the Community.

If ever *England* suffer'd by the Loss of any Man, it did in the Death of, that true Father of his Country, *Humphrey* Duke of *Gloucester*. He was, as may be observ'd from this Epitome of his History, the strictest Patron of Justice, and most zealous Opposer of Indirection and pernicious Practises. He was so real a Patriot, that he would never consent to patch up an ignominious Peace with *France*, by which the Honour and Majesty of the *English* Name could in any Degree be impair'd. And such a Guardian was he of the Civil Government, so careful of protecting its Liberties from being infring'd by any Foreign Power, that he would not suffer the Emperor *Sigismund* to set Foot on the Shores of *England*, 'till he first declared the Purpose for which he came. The Story is short, and remarkable, and therefore must not be pass'd over in silence.

This Potentate, being desirous to reconcile the Difference between the *French* and *English* Monarchs, that *Christendom* might be the better able to arm against the Common Enemy, the *Turk*, he first went in Person to solicit the *French* King, and from his Court set sail for *Dover*. The Duke of *Gloucester*, accompanied with many of
the

the Nobility, attended his Arrival at that Porte ; and when he was ready to land, *Gloucester* and the Lords with him, entered the Water with their drawn Swords, and boldly told the Emperor, That if his Imperial Majesty intended to enter as their King's Friend, and a Mediator for Peace, they would receive him with all Willingness accordingly ; but if, as an *Emperor*, to claim any Authority in *England*, which was a free and independent Kingdom, they were ready to resist his Entrance, and with the last Drop of their Blood defend the Liberty of their Country. This rough Demand was received as well by *Sigismund*, as it was honestly intended by *Gloucester* : The Emperor mildly declared his amicable Intents in Coming, and was immediately received and attended by the *English* Lords to *London*.

Nor was the Duke of *Gloucester* only a *Protector* of his Country, but likewise a *Benefactor*. He did not, like *Winchester*, amass extorted Treasures, and pride himself in hoarded Wealth, but chose to leave behind him Monuments of a Nobler Spirit. The Royal Seat at *Greenwich* was built by Him, and called *Placentia*, as Mr. CAMDEN informs us : By Him likewise was the Tower begun, on the Top of the Hill behind that Palace, from which there is so pleasant a Prospect down the winding River, green Meadows, and distant Plains.

As he improved his own Natural Parts by severe Studies, so he was a Patron as well as an Admirer of Learning : For he furnish'd to the Library at *Oxford*, since called the BODLEIAN, One hundred and twenty nine choice Volumes, procured by him from *Italy* at a great Expence.

I cannot pass by the Notice of his Liberality, because it has given Occasion to the only Remembrance that is had of him in Common to this Day; I mean in that popular Proverb, which is now misapply'd, of *Dining with Duke Humphrey*. We now use it for One that has fasted, or is at a Loss for a Dinner; whereas, in Fact, this Duke kept an open Table, to which every *Englishman* had a Priviledge of repairing: But, perhaps, this Priviledge might have even then been abused; and have serv'd as an Excuse for any Person that was absent from his Family, and did not care to account for his Time, to say, *He din'd with Duke Humphrey*.

But it is time now to wind up our Account of this Great Man, and I think it cannot be done more properly, than by taking Notice, That as his Murther was a Cause of universal Lamentation in *England*, so the Justice of Providence seems strict in revenging it on all the Instruments. King *Henry* now shook Hands with Prosperity; but he was no farther guilty than in his Weakness, and suffering the Counsels of an implacable Woman and her Faction to prevail. Queen *Margaret* had an ample Portion of Sorrow and Disquiet: She was harass'd with Civil Arms, rais'd by *Richard*, Duke of *York*, and at length forc'd to leave the Land, where she was so ambitious to bear Rule in *Suffolk*, as we have already observ'd, was cut off at Sea by an obscure hand: And the haughty Prelate *Winchester* triumph'd but a short Time in surviving *Gloucester*, and dy'd in the strongest Agonies of *Distraction* and a wounded Conscience.

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